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WILLIAM KONYEN

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (S. 437) for the relief of William Konyen which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, to strike out all after the enacting clause and insert:

That, for the purposes of the Act of July 14, 1960 (74 Stat. 504), Wilhelm Konyen, his wife Susanne Fritsch Konyen, and their children, Susanne Konyen and Willy Konyen shall be held and considered to be refugee-escapees within the purview of that Act.

Sec. 2. The provisions of section 212(a)(9) of the Immigration and Nationality Act shall not be applicable to Wilhelm Konyen and his exemption shall apply only to a ground for exclusion of which the Department of State or the Department of Justice had knowledge prior to the enactment of this act.

The amendments were agreed to.

The bill was ordered to be engrossed for a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Wilhelm Konyen, his wife Susanne Fritsch Konyen, and their children, Susanne Konyen and Willy Konyen."

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1401), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to provide for the parole into the United States of Wilhelm Konyen, his wife Susanne Fritsch Konyen, and their children, Susanne Konyen and Willy Konyen as refugee-escapees under the provisions of Public Law 86-648. The bill also waives the excluding provision of existing law relating to one who has been convicted of crimes involving moral turpitude in behalf of Wilhelm Konyen. The bill has been amended in accordance with established precedents.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

The beneficiaries of the bill are a 33-year-old husband and his 28-year-old wife who are natives of Rumania and citizens of Germany and their children, aged 6 and 3 years, who are natives and citizens of Germany. They all presently reside in Germany. In 1961 they were admitted to the United States as nonimmigrant visitors for the purpose of visiting relatives. The principal male beneficiary's parents, three sisters, and one brother were admitted to the United States for permanent residence in 1952 and are now citizens. He was found ineligible to receive a visa as a displaced person because of previous criminal convictions. He is a self-employed mechanic.

ROLANDO DE LA TORRE ARCEO

The bill (H.R. 1172) for the relief of Rolando de la Torre Arceo and John Anthony Arceo was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1403), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt

was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

THE PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to facilitate the entry into the United States in a nonquota status of two alien children adopted by citizens of the United States.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

The beneficiaries of the bill are 18- and 2-year-old natives and citizens of the Philippine Islands, who reside in that country with the parents of the older beneficiary. They were adopted on June 4, 1962, by a U.S. citizen serviceman and his wife. The adoptive father is presently serving in Hawaii. The record indicates that he served in the Philippine Scouts during World War II, and has served several tours in the U.S. Army prior to his last enlistment in 1955.

MRS. MAISIE MAGDALENE LIM KETCHENS

The bill (H.R. 1262) for the relief of Mrs. Maisie Magdalene Lim Ketchens was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1404), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to grant the status of permanent residence in the United States to Mrs. Maisie Magdalene Lim Ketchens. The bill provides for the payment of the required visa fee. No quota charge is provided for in the bill, inasmuch as the beneficiary is the widow of a U.S. citizen.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (H.R. 1263) for the relief of Rickert & Laan, Inc., was announced as next in order.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Over.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

ROSA STEFANO RATAJCZAK

The bill (H.R. 2324) for the relief of Rosa Stefano Ratajczak was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1406), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to facilitate the entry into the United States in a nonquota status of the alien child adopted by citizens of the United States.

STATEMENT OF FACTS

The beneficiary of the bill is a 7-year-old native and citizen of Italy, who presently resides in that country with her natural parents. She was adopted on November 18, 1961, in Italy, at which time the adoptive mother was present. The adoptive mother is the beneficiary's aunt, and she and her husband, who are both U.S. citizens, will be able to provide adequately for the beneficiary.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (H.R. 4786) for the relief of the State of New Mexico was announced as next in order.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Over.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

CHRISOULA BAKER

The bill (H.R. 6040) for the relief of Chrisoula Baker was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1412), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to facilitate the entry into the United States in a nonquota status of the alien child adopted by citizens of the United States.

BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (H.R. 6578) for the relief of Mrs. Cesira Doddy was announced as next in order.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Over.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

VULA ROED

The bill (H.R. 7617) for the relief of Vula Roed was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1415), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to facilitate the entry into the United States in a nonquota status of the alien child adopted by citizens of the United States.

MRS. EDELTRAUD ENGLISCH FRANKLIN

The bill (H.R. 8399) for the relief of Mrs. Edeltraud Englisch Franklin was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

MRS. LEONOR DO ROZARIO

The bill (H.R. 9150) for the relief of Miss Leonor do Rozario de Medeiros (Leonor Medeiros) was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1417), explaining the purposes of the bill.

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There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to deem Leonor do Rozario de Medelros (Leonor Medelros) to be the natural-born alien daughter of her adoptive parents, citizens of the United States.

## DANNY HIROMI OYAMA

The bill (H.R. 9290) for the relief of Danny Hiromi Oyama was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1418), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to facilitate the admission to the United States in a non-quota status of the alien child adopted by a citizen of the United States.

The beneficiary of the bill is a 16-year-old native of Japan, who was adopted in that country by a U.S. citizen member of the Marine Corps, who is presently on duty in South Carolina. The beneficiary resides with his prospective adoptive mother, who married the adoptive father in October 1963, and her child, both of whom are eligible to enjoy nonquota status as the wife and stepchild of a U.S. citizen.

## BILL PASSED OVER

The bill (H.R. 9560) for the relief of Lim Sam Soon was announced as next in order.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Over.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The bill will be passed over.

## YOUNG SOON KIM AND TAI UNG CHOI

The bill (H.R. 9519) for the relief of Young Soon Kim and Tai Ung Choi was considered, ordered to a third reading, read the third time, and passed.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1420), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill is to facilitate the entry into the United States in a nonquota status of two alien children adopted by citizens of the United States.

The beneficiaries of the bill are 5- and 6-year-old natives and citizens of Korea, presently residing in that country in an orphanage. They were adopted in November 1963 by citizens of the United States. In addition to the beneficiaries, the adoptive parents have five natural children and two alien orphan children previously adopted and admitted to the United States as eligible orphans. The adoptive parents also care for three elderly mentally retarded women placed in their home by the California Department of Mental Hygiene.

## KATHRYN CHOI AST

The Senate proceeded to consider the bill (H.R. 9361) for the relief of Kathryn Choi Ast which had been reported from the Committee on the Judiciary, with an amendment, on page 2, after line 2, to insert a new section, as follows:

Sec. 2. In the administration of the Immigration and Nationality Act, Chung K. Won may be classified as an eligible orphan within the meaning of section 101(b)(1)(F) of that Act, and a petition may be filed in behalf of the said Chung K. Won by Mr. Won Wing, a citizen of the United States, pursuant to section 205(b) of the Immigration and Nationality Act subject to all the conditions in that section relating to eligible orphans.

The amendment was agreed to.

The amendment was ordered to be engrossed and the bill to be read a third time.

The bill was read the third time, and passed.

The title was amended, so as to read: "A bill for the relief of Kathryn Choi Ast and Chung K. Won".

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed in the RECORD an excerpt from the report (No. 1424), explaining the purposes of the bill.

There being no objection, the excerpt was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## PURPOSE OF THE BILL

The purpose of the bill, as amended, is to facilitate the admission to the United States in a nonquota status of Kathryn Choi Ast, the adopted child of citizens of the United States, and Chung K. Won, the adopted son of a citizen of the United States. The purpose of the amendment was to include the case of Chung K. Won, the beneficiary of a Senate bill, S. 479, previously passed by the Senate, but amended in the House of Representatives in such manner that no relief was provided. Inasmuch as Mr. Won was adopted at the age of 4 years and resided in the household of his family thereafter for 11 years, the Senate feels that he should be reunited with his now U.S. citizen adoptive father and lawful resident alien adoptive mother.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, that concludes the call of the calendar for the time being.

I suggest the absence of a quorum.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. The clerk will call the roll.

The legislative clerk proceeded to call the roll.

Mr. MANSFIELD. Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that the order for the quorum call be rescinded.

The ACTING PRESIDENT pro tempore. Without objection, it is so ordered.

## STATUS OF JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, there is increasing concern over popular and governmental anti-Semitism which is increasing at a rapid pace within the Soviet Union. Although the Soviet constitution proclaims the supposed equality of citizens of the U.S.S.R., irrespective of nationality and race, it is a well docu-

mented fact that members of the Jewish faith in the Soviet Union are consistently denigrated and discriminated against from the highest level of government to the lowest level.

I am proud to join with Senator RIBCOFF in sponsoring an amendment to the foreign aid bill to express the concern and condemnation of the Senate of the United States for such Soviet activity. The time is long overdue for an official declaration from at least one branch of the U.S. Government making U.S. abhorrence of Soviet practices clear to the world. I am hopeful that this amendment will be called up in the very near future and will be overwhelmingly supported by the Senate.

Mr. President, the B'nai B'rith International Council has just issued a special report documenting Soviet anti-Semitism in every field of life. The report specifies Soviet denials of cultural rights. It provides an informative summary of Soviet suppression of Judaism in its religious practices. The pamphlet provides shocking statistics on actual discrimination against Soviet Jews in education, jobs, and political careers. And it offers disturbing examples of the rise of popular anti-Semitism throughout the U.S.S.R.

Mr. President, this publication provides a most useful and informative rundown on current Soviet activities and should serve as an important warning to the people of the United States that religious discrimination in the Soviet Union is on the increase.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent that this pamphlet be printed in the RECORD.

There being no objection, the pamphlet was ordered to be printed in the RECORD, as follows:

## THE STATUS OF JEWS IN THE SOVIET UNION

(Our Constitution proclaims the equality of the citizens of the U.S.S.R. irrespective of their nationality and race, and declares that "any advocacy of racial or national exclusiveness, hatred or contempt is punishable by law."—Nikita Khrushchev.)

There are, officially, 108 nationalities in the Soviet Union. Under Soviet law Jews are formally recognized as a nationality group—the eleventh largest in the U.S.S.R. A Jewish youth at 16 appears—as does every Soviet citizen—before the local registrar to obtain his internal "passport." This is a personal identity card which he will use the rest of his life; for education, work, residence, travel. It lists his nationality: Yevrei, for a Jew.<sup>1</sup>

The 16-year-old will provide the registrar with documents specifying the nationality of each of his parents. If both are Jewish, his nationality is the same. If his parents are of different nationalities, he has the option of choosing either one. Mixed marriages of this kind are atypical, so the option is not a significant factor in the Soviet population pattern.

Soviet Jewish population is just under 3,000,000

An official census<sup>2</sup> counted 2,268,000 Jews in the U.S.S.R.—1.09 percent of the Soviet

<sup>1</sup> In March 1964 Premier Khrushchev indicated that the internal passport may be superseded by "a labor identification document" which would not emphasize nationality.

<sup>2</sup> January 1959.

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population. Some observers contend that 3 million is a more accurate estimate; since census takers accepted a respondent's answers without checking his documents many Jews, particularly those married to non-Jews, could have suppressed their Jewish origin. But given the psychological factors that operate in Soviet society it is unlikely that a great number would hide the truth from an official census taker. The actual number of Jews is probably higher than the official statistics, but not as high as 3 million.

The Nazi barbarism of World War II decimated Soviet Jewry. A 1939 census recorded 3,020,000 Jews. During 1939-41, 1,900,000 were added through the U.S.S.R.'s annexations of Western lands. An estimated 2,500,000 were killed, dispersed or otherwise lost during the war.

In urbanized areas, where 95 percent lives, the Jewish population rank is high, probably fifth.<sup>1</sup>

Most Jews reside in the three major western republics: Russian Federation, 38 percent; Ukraine, 37 percent; Byelorussia, 7 percent. Another 15 percent lives in 6 other Soviet republics; the remaining 95,000 are scattered in 2 Caucasus and 4 Central Asian republics.

There are, broadly speaking, three types of Jewish groups in the U.S.S.R.:

1. Those who have lived in the major Slavic republics since the October revolution; they have been subject to the Russification process for almost two generations.

2. Those who live in territories annexed by the Soviet Union during 1939-41—Western Byelorussia, Galicia, Ruthenia, Latvia, Estonia, Lithuania, Bessarabia and Bukovina. Less "communicated," they have deeper awareness of their Jewish tradition.

3. The "Eastern Jews" of Bokhara, Dagestan and Georgia. This is a group with an ancient lineage; here the Jewish religion is strong, although the Yiddish culture commonly associated with East European Jews does not exist.

In the 1959 census, 400,000 Jews—about 18 percent—listed Yiddish as their native language. This is the lowest proportion among all Soviet nationalities that are identified with a national language. (Corresponding figures for other major Soviet nationalities range from 78 percent to the high 90's.) But the proportion who use Yiddish is understandably higher in the western borderlands where Communist rule began in 1939-41. In Riga [Latvia] 48 percent of the Jews identified Yiddish as their language; in Vilna and Kovno [Lithuania] 69 percent. And according to a Soviet Jewish researcher, Yakov Kantor, the number using Yiddish in the Ukraine, Byelorussia, and Moldavia is higher than the 18-percent average for the U.S.S.R. Kantor's study also reports that many Jews who know and use Yiddish did not list it as their native language. "Many people who speak and read Yiddish, enjoy Yiddish books and appreciate Yiddish plays, nevertheless gave [to the census taker] Russian as their language since they spoke Russian at work, in the street and, even to an extent, at home."<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Only Russians, Ukrainians, and probably Byelorussians and Tatars have more city dwellers.

<sup>2</sup> Blatter far Gesichte XV (1962-63), published in Warsaw, 1964. Kantor uses the oft-quoted figure of 20.8 percent as the ratio of Jews who reported Yiddish as their "native language." The difference in figures is attributable to the fact that the "native language" of Jews living in Georgia, Dagestan, and central Asia is a language other than Yiddish. In any case, the Yiddish-speaking element in the U.S.S.R., as Kantor shows, is much greater than the census figure suggests.

In addition to according legal recognition to a Jewish nationality, the Soviet Union also formally recognizes the Jewish religion. The Council of Affairs of Religious Cults, a five-member Government body, is charged with servicing the needs of non-Orthodox groups in the U.S.S.R. In 1960, a member of the council reported there were 500,000 observant Jews in the Soviet Union.

#### A dual community of religion and nationality

This dual character for the Jewish community is unique in Soviet society and makes for special difficulties. (Other minority religious groups—Catholics, Baptists, Moslems, Lutherans, Buddhists—are not linked directly to a nationality.) An attack upon Judaism by an atheistically oriented Communist Party can hardly avoid being interpreted by the Soviet people, particularly Soviet Jews, as an attack upon the Jewish nationality.

Two other characteristics distinguish the Jewish community from most Soviet minorities.

First, its dispersal throughout the U.S.S.R. Efforts in the thirties to establish an autonomous Jewish republic in Birobidjan by encouraging Jewish migration there founded on the indifference of Soviet Jews for whom the area held little attraction and no historical sentiment. Today, only 14,000 Jews, less than 9 percent of its population, live in Birobidjan.

Second, Soviet Jewry's ties of peoplehood, through religion and folklore, with a world Jewry that is concentrated in Western lands. This tends to make Soviet Jews vulnerable in the suspicious eyes of the Russians, a suspicion heightened by the East-West cold war.

Soviet Jews cannot escape being apprehensive about their vulnerability. They remember the postwar years when the Stalinist mania for what is now called the cult of personality expressed itself, among other ways, in anti-Jewish terror. It began in 1948 with an anticosmopolitan campaign in the press that implied many Jews were disloyal. Yiddish institutions were dismantled and the Jewish cultural movement was stifled. In 1952, 26 leading Jewish intellectuals were secretly tried and executed. During the black years of 1948-53 hundreds of Jewish leaders were sent to concentration camps, from which many never returned. Others were removed from their jobs. The despair among Soviet Jews was so intense that many had their belongings packed, expecting exile to the Far East. The climax came in January 1953 when, after 4 years of heightened and stimulated suspicion against Jews, Pravda helped create a pogrom atmosphere by charging that Jewish "murder physicians" had planned to assassinate Soviet military and civilian leaders in a doctors' plot.

After Stalin's death, exposure of the plot as a hoax ended the physical threat to Jews. But the fears still linger, especially since the present regime has made only half-hearted efforts to condemn the anti-Semitic aspects of the black years and rehabilitate its victims.

#### I. THE DENIAL OF CULTURAL RIGHTS

The Soviet Union takes pride in its nationality policy. When he addressed the United Nations General Assembly in September 1960, Premier Khrushchev made a special point of describing its achievements, particularly the transformation into an advanced social and cultural status of backward nationality groups that had been kept in subjugation in the Czar's "prison of nations."

#### Yiddish culture flourished until late in the 1930's

In the early days of the U.S.S.R., the Council of People's Commissars laid down the principle of free development of the national minorities and ethnographic groups

which live within Soviet Russia. There were regulations guaranteeing to national minorities the right to their own language, to have it taught in schools, published in newspapers and used in the courts, and to develop individual cultures that would be "national, inform and socialist in content." These rights, for the most part, have been implemented, even for the 12,000 Chukchi, smallest nationality group in the Soviet Union.

The Jews are the singular exception. They are denied the cultural institutions—schools, theaters, press, literature—enjoyed by virtually every other national minority.

This was not always so. In the 1920's and 1930's there was an extensive system of Yiddish schools. As late as 1940 (notwithstanding a continuing decline just before World War II) it enrolled 90,000 youngsters. Since the 1940's there has not been a single Yiddish or Hebrew school in the entire U.S.S.R.<sup>3</sup>

In the 1930's there were almost a score of permanent Jewish theatrical companies. Directors and actors were trained in the Jewish department of the Kiev Dramatic Institute and at the Jewish Theater College in Moscow and the Jewish State Theater in Minsk. The Yiddish Art Theater in Moscow, ranked among the best Soviet dramatic theaters, was closed down by Stalin in 1949, its leading actor, Solomon Mikhoels, having been murdered in 1948 by the secret police. There is no permanent Yiddish theater in the U.S.S.R. today.<sup>4</sup> By contrast, the 130,000 gypsies in the Soviet Union have one in Moscow, and the Government of Communist Poland, where only 30,000 Jews remain, still maintains the famous Kaminska Yiddish Theater of Warsaw.

A Yiddish press and literature once flourished in the U.S.S.R. Prior to World War II there were three daily newspapers and five literary journals. In 1948 all of them disappeared. There is no longer any Yiddish daily.<sup>5</sup> But the Maris, a small nationality group (504,000 population), has 7 newspapers; the Yakuts (236,000) have 10.

In August 1961, Sovietish Helmland, a bimonthly literary review, began publication—the first Yiddish magazine to appear in the U.S.S.R. in 14 years. The idea had been discussed for 8 years. The magazine began with a limited press run of 25,000 copies. The likelihood is that it would never have appeared except for outside pressures challenging the discriminatory Soviet policy toward Yiddish culture. Soviet Minister of Culture Yekaterina Furtseva told Andre Blumel, vice chairman of the Franco-Soviet Friendship Society, that if the Soviet Union "did anything at all" for Yiddish culture "it would not be for domestic reasons but to please our friends abroad."<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Ironically, a new 766-page Hebrew-Russian dictionary, compiled by the late Prof. F. L. Shapiro, was recently published in Moscow.

<sup>2</sup> In 1962 a traveling troupe headed by Benjamin Schwartzson toured the Ukraine and central Asia for 2 months, then, in February 1963, played four performances in Moscow of Sholem Aleichem's "Tevye, the Milkman" in Yiddish. An audience of 800 cheered the opening night.

<sup>3</sup> "Birobidjaner Shtern," a small triweekly of 1,500 circulation, is published in Yiddish in Birobidjan. For a time, thousands of Soviet Jews subscribed to the Yiddish language "Die Folksstimme," published in Warsaw. Soviet authorities halted the practice.

<sup>4</sup> They met in Moscow in 1960. Gen. David Dragunsky, a Soviet spokesman on Jewish issues, made the same admission when he was interviewed in Paris a year later. Discussing the few Yiddish books that had been published, the General said: "Frankly speaking, they are being published more for political reasons than in answer to a real need."

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Some critics at first dismissed Sovietish Heimland as a forum for Communist literature with little material about Jewish life in the Soviet Union or abroad. But an analysis of its first 3 years shows 320 articles by some 100 Jewish authors, and many of the stories and poems have meaningful Jewish content. In the absence of any other Jewish secular institution, the magazine has established itself as a focal point of Yiddish activity, organizing a number of discussions and conferences, one of which was attended by 700 persons. The Soviet Union of Writers has expressed satisfaction with Sovietish Heimland, and recently its size has been increased to meet a growing interest.

During 1938-37 a single Yiddish publishing house turned out 832 books (6,250,000 copies). In 1939, 339 Yiddish books were published. Between 1948 and 1959—none. Since then five Yiddish works—30,000 copies of each—have been authorized.<sup>10</sup> None is by a living Soviet writer. No work has appeared during the last 2 years. By comparison, 49 books were published in 1962 in the Mari language; 109 in the Yakut language. Among larger nationalities (but not as large as the Jewish group) there were 6,080 books published in Uzbek between 1948 and 1958, 4,548 in Kazakh.

Yiddish concerts are the single cultural medium still widely prevalent, and they have a standing-room-only popularity. The Ministry of Culture reported that in 1957 alone there were 3,000 such concerts, averaging 1,000 paid admissions each—a total attendance (Jews and non-Jews) of 3 million. Between June 1960 and June 1961, says Sovietish Heimland Editor Aron Vergelis, more than 300,000 Jews attended concerts featuring the few active Yiddish artists such as the famed Nuchama Lifshutz.<sup>11</sup> When Jan Peerce, the Metropolitan Opera tenor, performed in the Soviet Union in May 1963 he drew sellout houses and thunderous ovations for his Hebrew and Yiddish songs.

## JEWISH FOLKLORE IS DENIED THE FREEDOM TO PERPETUATE

About 40 Jewish folk songs have been recorded and released by the Ministry of Culture. A book of 150 folk songs, printed in Yiddish and Russian, has been published (but in an edition of only a few hundred copies). A conference of Jewish composers and artists held late in 1961 in the offices of Sovietish Heimland dealt with the future of Jewish music in the U.S.S.R. According to a report from Moscow, the discussion centered on the need to introduce themes "of the present" into Jewish songs.

Notwithstanding their immense popularity, "one wonders how long the concerts can continue," writes Journalist Maurice Hindus, a close observer of the Soviet scene. "The performers are nearly all former actors and actresses of Yiddish theaters. They are advanced in years and there is no school to train young talent. In a country that has earnestly dedicated itself to convert folklore into one of the great arts of our times, Jews are the only people deprived of the opportunity to perpetuate their folklore. There is no Jewish clubhouse anywhere in the Soviet Union, not a single theatrical school to train professional performers. When the performers of today pass from life, they will carry with them to their graves the one cultural heritage that the Soviets allow."<sup>12</sup>

<sup>10</sup> One additional work—a compilation of pieces of former Birobidjan Jewish writers—has also been approved.

<sup>11</sup> There was also an amateur Jewish choral group of 100 in Riga that reportedly disbanded in late 1963. A small choral group performs in Vilna. Recently, a Yiddish concert troupe was formed in Leningrad.

<sup>12</sup> "House Without a Roof," 1961.

How do Soviet authorities justify their dismantling of Jewish cultural life? One explanation they give is that Jewish dispersal in Soviet Russia means a burdensome cost to finance cultural institutions. Khrushchev told a visitor, Prof. Jerome Davis:<sup>13</sup>

"If we have 7-year schools for Jews in the Jewish language, where could the graduates go? We would have to establish 10-year schools and special universities for them. The Jews are dispersed and engulfed in the culture where they live. If they want to create a state within our borders, like Birobidjan, nobody is against this. But to set up separate schools all over Russia would be expensive."

Since most Soviet nationalities are concentrated in their own territories, it simplifies the development of their cultural institutions. Yet the Soviet Government has not been unwilling to encourage the cultural growth of small nationalities. The Tadzhik minority that lives in the Uzbek Republic and Persia living in Byelorussia and Lithuania, are secure in their cultural rights. Since 1955, more than 1 million Volga Germans (who in 1941 were forcibly transported to Siberia and the Urals, then allowed to re-establish themselves after the war), have had German-language schools, a weekly journal published in Moscow, a newspaper published in the Altai region. In Russian schools where German children are enrolled, the German language is taught. Radio station in Alma Ata and Teelinograd carry regular German language programs.

Another justification given by the Soviets is that Jews are assimilating and do not want to retain Yiddish culture. "Even if Jewish schools were established, very few would attend them voluntarily," Khrushchev told a delegation of French Socialists in 1957. "A university in the Yiddish language could never be established, there would not be a sufficient number of students. With regard to Yiddish or Hebrew, there is no demand for their use in the state administration and in Soviet institutions. If the Jews were compelled to attend Jewish schools there would certainly be a revolt. It would be considered some kind of ghetto. The Jewish theater pointed away for lack of audiences."<sup>14</sup>

The assimilatory process has undoubtedly affected large numbers of Jews. But the stubborn fact is that 18 percent of Soviet Jewry (in Western areas the ratio is much higher) considers Yiddish its native tongue, and many more understand and appreciate it. A leading Soviet linguist, M. Frickberg, challenged as "wholly incorrect" an article in the Soviet Encyclopedia which claimed Yiddish is disappearing and the Soviet Jewish minority is on the road to "complete linguistic assimilation." Fredberg pointed specifically to compact Jewish communities in the Ukraine and Byelorussia as centers of Yiddish speech. The hundreds of thousands of Jews who flock to the Yiddish concert and the brisk sale of the few Yiddish books and publications available similarly testify to the vitality of the language.

More pertinent perhaps, is the apparent determination of Soviet authorities to vitiate

the high degree of Jewish consciousness that still exists. Since 1948 the Soviet Government has followed a policy—with only slight modification in the last few years—of suppressing any institutional framework that might invigorate and sustain a Yiddish culture. The new program of the Soviet Communist Party speaks of the ultimate Communist objective as "the effacement of national distinctions . . . including language distinctions," but it also emphasizes that, for the time being, the party must guarantee "the complete freedom of each citizen of the U.S.S.R. to speak and to read and educate his children in any language, ruling out all privileges, restrictions or compulsion in the use of this or that language." This freedom obviously does not extend to Jews.

## Soviets shrug off the 6 million martyrs

There are other tactics with which Soviet leadership seeks to erase a consciousness of the Jewish past. Soviet textbooks pointedly fail to mention the cultural contributions of Jews, although the culture of other minorities is treated liberally. The first edition of the "Large Soviet Encyclopedia," carried 116 pages about Jews. The second and present edition reduced this to 2 pages.<sup>15</sup> The martyrdom of Soviet Jews during the Nazi era is given little attention. Babi Yar, the site near Kiev of the mass annihilation of 100,000 Jews by the Nazis, was to have been commemorated with a memorial. This was abandoned; instead there were reports that a park and stadium were to be built on the site of the massacre. A distinguished Soviet writer, Viktor Nekrasov, asked in Literaturnaya Gazeta:<sup>16</sup>

"Is this possible? Who could have thought of such a thing? To fill a ravine and on the site of such a colossal tragedy to make merry and play football?"

No, this must not be allowed."

Poet Yevgeny Yevtushenko stung official indifference to Jewish martyrdom when he recited his new poem, "Babi Yar," before a mass meeting of 1,500 persons:<sup>17</sup>

There are no monuments over Babi Yar  
The steep slope is the only gravestone.—

\* \* \*  
The trees look sternly like judges.  
Everything here shrieks silently.

Officialdom struck back. One Soviet writer, Alexei Markov, questioned Yevtushenko's patriotism, insisting the poet had defiled "Russian crewcut lads" who had died in battle against the Nazis. Another critic, Dmitri Starikov, denounced Yevtushenko's poem as a "provocation" and a "monstrous" insult to the Soviet people. The poet was warned against taking further steps into a "foul, swampy quagmire."

Khrushchev had the final word. On March 8, 1963, at a Kremlin meeting of artists and writers, he justified the criticism, saying Yevtushenko "did not display political maturity and showed ignorance of the historical facts." Khrushchev also complained that the poem was oriented to a national

<sup>13</sup> Surprisingly, the new "Ukrainian Encyclopedia," with 8 of its projected 16 volumes already published, devotes considerable space to Jewish writers and literature, the Yiddish language and the Jewish people generally, including a lengthy account of the history of Jews in the Ukraine going back to the 10th century. Also, a new "Short Literary Encyclopedia," the first volume of which appeared in 1962, carries lengthy and sympathetic articles on a great number of Jewish writers, including those who, like Chaim Bialik, wrote principally in Hebrew.

<sup>14</sup> October 10, 1958.

<sup>15</sup> September 18, 1961, in Moscow. "Babi Yar" was later printed in Literaturnaya Gazeta.

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martyrdom whereas Communists must approach situations from a class viewpoint.<sup>17</sup>

It would be wrong to say that Soviet authorities have completely ignored the fact of Jewish martyrdom. Foreign Minister Andrei Gromyko made a moving speech on the theme 16 years ago at the U.N. General Assembly. A leading Soviet publicist and playwright, A. Korneichuk, spoke of it in an address before the Supreme Soviet in 1962.<sup>18</sup> A few Soviet novelists—Vladimir Belyayev, Vadim Kozhevnikov, Vladimir Bondarenko—have also dealt with the theme, and 2 years ago the Soviet Latvian Republic produced a documentary film on the liquidation of the Minsk Jewish community. There have been several Soviet trials of Nazi collaborators who had a hand in the extermination of Jews, and Soviet authorities made evidence of anti-Jewish war crimes available to a West German Court in Coblenz.

But these are sprinkled exceptions. The customary Soviet attitude is to shrug off or ignore the martyrdom of 6 million Jews. Or, as with Yevtushenko, condemn those who recall its grim tragedies. The Elchmann trial was deliberately played down in the Soviet press.<sup>19</sup> "The Diary of Anne Frank," a worldwide stage hit, "literally brought the house down"—the quote is from Tass, the Soviet news agency—when it was finally performed in Moscow last year by a visiting Italian repertory group. It has had no other performances in the Soviet Union. The repertory company, which gave five performances each of its other scheduled plays, was limited to two showings of the "Anne Frank" play, and then "only after considerable negotiations with Soviet authorities."<sup>20</sup> Last year's 20th anniversary of the Warsaw Ghetto uprising was similarly minimized (except in Sovietish Heimland which gave it a special section). An Izvestia article on the anniversary was little more than an attack on West Germany. Sponsors of a great commemoration in Warsaw (where some 900 foreign delegates assembled), were disappointed by the absence of any official Soviet delegation. A single Soviet citizen, a member of the editorial board of Sovietish Heimland, attended.

A UNESCO convention adopted in 1960 requires contracting states to respect "the right of national minorities to carry on their own educational activities, including the maintenance of schools, and \* \* \* the use or the teaching of their own language." The Soviet Union, though a contracting state, has yet to live up to its promise so far as the Jewish nationality is concerned. In the same way it has failed to live up to its commitments, formalized in constitutional statutes and party programs, to assure the Jewish community, as it does other ethnic groups, the means of national and cultural expression.

## II. THE SUPPRESSION OF JUDAISM

The Soviet Communist Party, firmly committed to "scientific materialism," conducts

<sup>17</sup> To illustrate this Khrushchev related a series of episodes in which various Jews, some "good" and some "bad" from a Communist viewpoint, stood on opposite sides of the class struggle. He concluded with a story in questionable taste in which a Jew named Kogan was supposed to have served as a translator in the headquarters of Nazi Field Marshall von Paulus and, by contrast, another Jew, Vinokur, was political commissar of a brigade that took part in Von Paulus' capture.

<sup>18</sup> Two years earlier (Jan. 14, 1960) Khrushchev, in a speech to the Supreme Soviet, quoted a letter from Lord Russell to the London Times that made reference to Nazi persecution of Jews.

<sup>19</sup> Although the trial was extensively reported in Poland, Hungary, and Czechoslovakia.

<sup>20</sup> The New York Times, Apr. 12, 1963.

a vigorous ideological and propaganda campaign against all religions. But this must be distinguished from the obligations of the Soviet Government toward religious groups, since the Soviet Constitution guarantees freedom of worship. A leading authority on religion in the Soviet Union, Prof. John Curtiss, in a careful analysis published in 1960, found that the Soviet Government "turns a benevolent face toward most of the religious organizations of the U.S.S.R." There is one notable exception—Judaism.

*Judaism is denied same status of other faiths*

The Russian Orthodox Church has been particularly favored.<sup>21</sup> Since World War II it has been able to open seminaries, monasteries and parish churches, and its clerical activities have expanded in many directions. Leading orthodox prelates are granted official privileges, including invitations to important state functions. Testifying to what Professor Curtiss calls Russian Orthodoxy's "robust existence" were 35,000 priests and 20,000 parish churches organized into 73 dioceses, each headed by a metropolitan, archbishop or bishop. There were also 69 monasteries and convents, 2 theological academies and 8 seminaries with (as of 1956) 1,500 students.<sup>22</sup>

The same privileged status favors the Georgian Orthodox and Armenian Orthodox churches.

The Baptist denomination has also been "flourishing" in the Soviet Union, Professor Curtiss reported. U.S.S.R., an official Soviet journal, tended to confirm this in an article that told of 5,500 Baptist parishes, each with its own minister, deacon or preacher, and a total membership of 540,000.<sup>23</sup>

The Lutherans, centered in Estonia and Latvia, have 350,000 congregants and (as of 1956) about 100 churches and 150 pastors.

Roman Catholicism has an extensive structure in Lithuania with 740 priests<sup>24</sup> and in Latvia with 126 priests.<sup>25</sup> There is a Catholic seminary at Riga, another in Kaunas. Two bishops were consecrated in 1955, a third in 1957.

Islam also enjoys considerable status in the U.S.S.R. On several occasions the Soviet Government has made air transport available to fly large Moslem delegations from Central Asia, the Caucasus and other Soviet areas to Mecca and back.

The Soviets permit, even facilitate, exchange visits between native and foreign delegations of the orthodox church, and of Protestant and Islamic groups. They have even been favorably disposed toward the establishment of permanent or semipermanent institutional relationships. Thus, the Russian Orthodox Church, through a special department, has regular relations with orthodox churches in other countries and in 1962, by its admittance to membership into the World Council of Churches, strengthened its ties with many Protestant denominations. In recent years, orthodox clergymen have traveled on official tours to Western countries.

Similarly, there are close official contacts between Russian Baptists and their coreligionists abroad. A Soviet Baptist leader has publicly reported that his church "maintains contacts with almost all the Protestant denominations in the world" and that its representatives "have attended many interna-

<sup>21</sup> "The Russian Orthodox Church—Organization, Situation, Activity"—a large, handsome work published by the Moscow Patriarchate in 1959—graphically illustrates this.

<sup>22</sup> A significant decline in the number of Orthodox churches and institutions during the past 2 years has been reported by Protestant leaders.

<sup>23</sup> June 1963 issue.

<sup>24</sup> 1954 statistics.

<sup>25</sup> 1959 statistics.

tional congresses of the Baptists and other Protestant groups."<sup>26</sup> Soviet authorities permit Baptist seminarians to engage in advanced study in England, Canada, and Sweden.

For years, Soviet Moslems have been associated with a World Congress of Moslems. In October 1962 a conference of Soviet Moslem leaders, meeting in Tashkent, was authorized to establish a permanent department for international relations, with headquarters in Moscow. The Soviet radio reported that delegations from Lebanon, the United Arab Republic, Guinea, and Senegal had attended a Moslem conference in the Soviet Union and that a delegation of Soviet Moslems had participated in an international Islamic congress in Baghdad.<sup>27</sup> It also reported that a number of Soviet Moslem youths were studying at Al Azhar, a major Islamic center of learning in the U.A.R., and in Morocco.

Religious contacts and cooperative enterprises of this nature are denied to Jews. No delegation of observant Soviet Jews has ever been permitted to visit its counterparts abroad. Jewish religious bodies outside the Soviet Union are not allowed official contact with Soviet synagogues. A gift by the Synagogue Council of America of miniature Scrolls of Law to Rabbi Yehuda Leib Levin, Chief Rabbi of Moscow, had to be delivered through the intermediary of a Russian Orthodox delegation that was touring in the United States.<sup>28</sup> Moscow's Jews have been warned against having contacts with Israeli diplomats or other visiting Jews who might come for prayer in the synagogue.<sup>29</sup> The warning followed the arrest and conviction of Jewish religious leaders in Leningrad and Moscow on charges that included contacts with Israel diplomats.

*U.S.S.R. has never allowed a printing of Hebrew Bible*

It is Soviet policy to restrict even internal contact among its Jewish congregations. Other major religions in the Soviet Union are allowed to organize congresses and conferences of religious or lay leaders, and to maintain central organizations—the Holy Synod of the Russian Orthodox Church, the All-Union Council of Evangelical Christians-Baptists, the National Ecclesiastical Assembly of the Armenian Church, the Lutheran Churches of Latvia and Estonia, the Moslem Board for Central Asia and Kazakhstan—that service a variety of religious needs. Judaism, on the other hand, is deprived of any instrument that could help coordinate or unite the Jewish group. There is no central federation of synagogues or council of rabbis. Jewish religious life is atomized, each congregation operating on its own and having no official contact with any other Jewish congregation. The Russian Orthodox Church publishes a central organ, the Journal of the Moscow Patriarchate; the Baptists have their Brotherly Herald; for Soviet Jews, no religious periodical exists.

There are other official Soviet actions, clearly discriminatory, designed to stifle Judaism. Since 1917 the government has not permitted publication of a Hebrew Bible. Yet in 1957 the Russian Orthodox were able to print 50,000 copies of a 1926 edition of their Bible; a year later there were press runs of 10,000 Russian-language copies of a Baptist Bible and 9,000 copies of the Koran

<sup>26</sup> U.S.S.R., June 1963.

<sup>27</sup> April 1963.

<sup>28</sup> The delegation visited the United States in April 1963. Efforts by the synagogue council to invite the chief rabbi to visit the United States have been futile.

<sup>29</sup> February 1962. The warning was repeated in October and Jewish congregants in Moscow were told to avoid "shaking hands with visitors generally."

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in Arabic (a language of religious study not spoken by Soviet Moslems).<sup>20</sup>

Prayer books are available in relatively sufficient quantities for the major religions—except Judaism.<sup>21</sup> For the religious Jews, a siddur (prayer book) is a rare and precious possession. Until 1958, when a pitiful 8,000 copies were run off, none had been printed in the Soviet Union. A New York Times correspondent who attended Yom Kippur services last year in Moscow's Central Synagogue reported only a "few lucky owners of prayer books" among the "over-flow crowd of several thousand worshippers."<sup>22</sup>

Even so innocuous an item as a luach (Jewish calendar listing festival dates) is not readily available to Soviet Jews. They have had to depend on photographed copies of calendars laboriously made by hand.<sup>23</sup> Most religious groups are allowed to produce crucifixes, candles and other devotional articles. But the manufacture of Jewish religious articles such as the tallit (prayer shawl) and tfillin (phylacteries) is forbidden.

So too, in recent years, is the baking of matzo for Passover. In a report filed July 11, 1958 with the United Nations, the Soviet Union offered solemn assurances that it makes matzo available for observant Jews. But a year later, restrictions on the public baking of matzo began to appear, the first of these in Kharkov, a city with 70,000 Jews. In succeeding years, the ban spread to other cities; by 1962 it blanketed almost all of the U.S.S.R.,<sup>24</sup> extending even to synagogues in Leningrad, Riga and Kiev, which have their own equipment for baking matzo. On March 18, 1963, the Chief Rabbi of Moscow formally announced that authorities had banned matzo baking on a community basis. He advised Jews to attempt to bake matzo in their own homes.<sup>25</sup>

Prior to the Passover this year, the Moscow Jewish community was permitted to rent a small bakery for the production of matzo. The amount produced over the course of the few days that the bakery was allowed to operate was 8,000 pounds—a completely inadequate quantity for observant Moscow Jews. Meanwhile, with the encouragement of the authorities, Jewish communities abroad sent in 90,000 pounds of matzo. But most parcels remained unclaimed in the customs warehouses: Soviet Jews had been frightened off by newspaper accounts in national and provincial newspapers which

charged that the foreign parcels constituted "ideological subversion." Only a small percentage of Jews had matzo; the others were given a special dispensation by the Chief Rabbi to use beans and peas instead.

Observers report that the synagogue is "the sorriest house of worship in the Soviet Union"<sup>26</sup> and, in the last few years, there has been a drastic decline in the number of Soviet synagogues. According to official figures submitted to the United Nations in 1958, there were then 450 synagogues in the U.S.S.R. In 1959 the Soviet Government reported only 150 synagogues. In April 1963 the Chief Rabbi was quoted in an official Soviet publication that 95 synagogues remain.<sup>27</sup> Thus, since Khrushchev's denunciation of Stalinism at the 20th Party Congress four-fifths of all Soviet synagogues has been shut down, 50 of them during the past 4 years.

*Soviet policy toward the synagogue—padlock it*

Synagogues in Sverdlovsk, Zhitomir, Kagan, Grozny, Zhmerinka, Belya, Tserkov, Kaunas and Lvov—cities with sizeable Jewish populations—have been padlocked in the last 2 years. The sanctuary of the synagogue in Minsk, an historic edifice, was demolished in July 1963. A New York Herald Tribune correspondent, visiting it, found that the sanctuary had been converted to a warehouse. A one-story extension reached through a rickety wooden shed in an alley where chickens were kept, functioned as the sanctuary. The Jews at prayer there, the correspondent wrote, wore "shabby, home-made prayer shawls" and read from "ancient tattered prayer books."<sup>28</sup>

The closing of a synagogue generally is preceded by an intense press campaign of suspicion and hostility. The synagogue in the old Jewish center of Chernovtsi (Bukovina) was locked after the local newspaper charged that it was used for "shady profiteering agreements."<sup>29</sup> The great synagogue of Lvov, with a glorious tradition, was closed on November 5, 1962, after a yearlong press campaign charging it with being a center for "currency speculators" and their "criminal machinations."<sup>30</sup>

Some Jews have taken to private minyanim (quorums of at least 10 required to conduct a service) in their homes. But in the past 2 years there have been police drives to discourage these.<sup>31</sup>

The discouragement of Judaism is further intensified by the lack of training facilities to replace a fast-aging rabbinate. There are now only about 60 rabbis in the U.S.S.R. Until 1957, when a Yeshiva was established in Moscow for 20 students, there was no Jewish theological seminary in all of the Soviet Union. Since then only two students have been ordained and neither functions as a synagogue leader. Of the 13 students enrolled in the shabby run-down Yeshiva in April 1962, 11 were over 40 years of age. At that time, nine of the students, who came from communities in Georgia and Daghestan, were prevented from resuming their studies because of, said authorities, a housing shortage in Moscow. That left an enrollment of four seminarians in all of the U.S.S.R.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>20</sup> Hindus, "House Without a Roof."

<sup>21</sup> U.S.S.R., April 1963.

<sup>22</sup> New York Herald Tribune, June 28, 1963.

<sup>23</sup> Quoted in "Jews in Eastern Europe," December 1962.

<sup>24</sup> Lvovskaya Pravda, Feb. 16, 1962, and Oct. 26, 1962.

<sup>25</sup> During Rosh Hashana 1962, a minyan held in a house on January 21st Street in Kharkov was dispersed by the police; on Yom Kippur, another Kolomea. On Feb. 28, 1962, a Sabbath minyan in Gomel was brutally disrupted.

<sup>26</sup> Since then, the number has dropped to two or three students.

Judaism in the Soviet Union will soon be without trained leadership.

Other Jewish facilities are being forced out of existence. The only kosher butcher shop in Moscow was temporarily closed by the authorities in the summer of 1962 on the grounds that it did not conform to sanitary regulations.<sup>33</sup> The Jewish section of the old Moscow cemetery is filled, but repeated appeals by the chief rabbi and other Jewish leaders for an enclave to be set aside and consecrated for Jewish burials is a new municipal cemetery have been rejected. This pattern is likely to be repeated in other cities.

Although the Soviet Communist Party continues to propagandize against religion, generally seeking to achieve "the final and complete eradication of religious prejudices,"<sup>34</sup> it is supposed to be guided by a policy resolution of its central committee, adopted November 1, 1954, and calling for a "tacit" and "considerate" attitude toward those who "still remain under the influence of various religious beliefs." The resolution specifically warns against putting "Soviet citizens under political suspicion because of their religious convictions." In the party's propaganda war against Judaism, these caveats appear to be observed in the breach.

*Judaism is attacked and satirized in U.S.S.R. press*

Feuilletons (satirical articles) often appear, particularly in the Soviet provincial press, savagely attacking Judaism.<sup>35</sup> The rite of circumcision is denounced as barbarous, the "Kol Nidre" prayer of Yom Kippur is condemned as encouraging disobedience to state authority. Synagogue leaders are depicted as moneyworshippers who use the religious service, kosher slaughtering, religious burial, matzo baking, and other ritual practices to exploit a duped congregation.<sup>36</sup>

Much of the propaganda depicts Judaism as being in the service of a foreign power, thereby attaching to the observant Jew the stigma of disloyalty. This excerpt from a Ukrainian language radio broadcast from Kirovograd, is not unusual:

"Judaic sermons are the sermons of bourgeois Zionists. Such sermons are tools in the hands of the nationalistic, Israeli cosmopolitan and American bourgeoisie. With their tentacles, the Jewish bourgeois nationalists, making use of Judaism, try to penetrate into our Soviet garden."

Three other examples of the disloyalty theme:

"The chauvinistic Passover slogans stand in contradiction to the feeling of Soviet patriotism and boundless love to the socialist motherland."

"Judaism kills love for the Soviet motherland."

"The character of the Jewish religion thus serves the political aim of the Zionists—the awakening of a nationalistic frame of mind."<sup>37</sup>

<sup>27</sup> Later it was permitted to reopen.

<sup>28</sup> Pravda, Aug. 21, 1963.

<sup>29</sup> These are provincial areas with fairly large Jewish populations and long traditions of anti-Semitism.

<sup>30</sup> A typical example from Minskaya Pravda (Apr. 4, 1961): "Money. That is the God of the Minsk Jewish religious community and their aids." Another is from the book, "Judaism Without Embellishment," published in December 1963 by the Ukrainian Academy of Sciences: "What is the Jewish secular cult? Business. What is his secular God? Money. Money, that is the jealous God of Israel."

<sup>31</sup> Dec. 9, 1959, monitored by BBC.

<sup>32</sup> "The Origin and Class Essence of Jewish Rituals and Holidays," published 1961 by the Society for the Diffusion of Political and Scientific Knowledge in the Ukraine.

<sup>33</sup> Sovetskaya Moldavia (Kishinev) July 23, 1959.

<sup>34</sup> Volzhskaya Kommuna (Kuibyshev), Sept. 30, 1961.

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A lengthy article in *Trud* castigated the synagogue as a place where Israeli diplomats are alleged to have extracted espionage information from disloyal Soviet Jews.<sup>61</sup> Another article carried a massive attack on three religious Jews who were accused of having had contacts with the Israel Embassy in Moscow. "Avarice, groveling servility before everything foreign, spiritual waste, lack of pride in our great motherland—these impel the Chernukhins, Roginskys, and the Sheyfers into the embraces of sometimes not entirely blameless foreigners," said *Trud*.<sup>62</sup> Synagogue leaders in Leningrad and Moscow have been convicted and given stiff sentences on charges of betraying state secrets to Israel.

The new program of the Communist Party, adopted at its 22d Congress, calls for a stepped-up program of overcoming "religious prejudices" by "systematically \* \* \* conduct [ing] broad scientific-atheist propaganda." On March 2, 1964, the Party Central Committee spelled out the details of the intensified campaign. It can be expected that in this antireligious campaign Judaism will continue to be singled out for condemnation and the loyalty of its leaders questioned.

## III. DISCRIMINATION AND THE SOVIET JEW

The Soviet constitution specifically prohibits "any direct or indirect restriction of the rights \* \* \* of citizens on account of their race or nationality." But for the Jewish citizen the promise of Soviet law is not always the practice in Soviet reality.

## Quota system is common practice at universities

There is no indication that the Jew is discriminated against in housing or public accommodations. He has open access to hotels, resorts, clubs, and other public facilities. But in higher education—the key to advancement in Soviet society—the situation is not so favorable. Soviet officials do not publicly acknowledge or discuss quota systems in university admission practices. But they exist. A study of Soviet education by Nicholas DeWitt, a specialist formerly at the Harvard Russian Research Center, finds that quotas operate on the principle of "equivalent balance." This means "the representation of any national or ethnic grouping in overall higher education enrollment should be as the relation of the size of that group to total U.S.S.R. population. Those nationalities whose higher educational development 'ought to be fostered' get preferential admission quotas, while those who are 'overrepresented' are curtailed accordingly."<sup>63</sup>

On the basis of elaborate computations drawn from Soviet data, DeWitt shows that the quota system operates "to the particularly severe disadvantage of the Jewish population." Between 1935 and 1958, his computations reveal, "the index of representation rose for most nationalities, but fell for Georgians and all national minorities, with a very drastic decline for the Jews." DeWitt concludes:

"The setting of admission quotas undoubtedly penalized the Jewish population, with its significant urban concentration and higher level of educational attainment, more heavily than other minor nationality groups with more diversified occupational and rural-urban distribution."

Soviet Minister of Higher and Secondary Education V. P. Yelyutin denied that the Soviet Union discriminates or maintains quota systems against Jews in education.<sup>64</sup> Yelyutin insisted that Jews, constituting 2 percent of the Soviet population, were 10 percent of the enrollment in Soviet universities. This was disputed by Dr. Solomon Schwarz, a prominent scholar and author of "The Jews in the Soviet Union," who cited official Soviet data to prove "the number of Jews among the students of all Soviet institutions of higher education could reach only little more than 4 percent."<sup>65</sup> A 1961 Soviet statistical handbook on higher education not only corroborates this but suggests that even Dr. Schwarz's estimates were high. The handbook reports 2,395,000 students, 77,000 of them Jews. The ratio of Jews is therefore closer to 3 percent—a plummeting drop from 1935 when it was 13 percent.

Despite this drastic decline, Jewish university enrollment, on a population basis, still ranks highest among nationality groups. But it is clear that the quota system compels the Jewish student to perform at a much higher level of achievement than this non-Jewish colleagues if he is to get equal recognition. A Leningrad professor is quoted by Maurice Hindus that a Jew must be especially gifted, "something like a genius, to be admitted to aspirantura [post graduate work]."<sup>66</sup>

The pattern of discrimination is an uneven one. Jews find it less difficult to be admitted to Leningrad University than to Moscow University. Siberian schools are even less discriminatory. Siberia, writes Hindus, is in the throes of gigantic development and the demand for specialists in all fields is so pressing that universities and technological institutes will overlook it if an applicant is Jewish. However, in most of the Soviet Republics (except for the RSFSR, the Ukraine, and Byelorussia), the representation of Jews among university students is well below the rate of the "general population's access to higher education."<sup>67</sup> Particularly distressing is the trend of development as seen from the ratio of academically educated people, especially students, to practicing scientists. According to the report of an international socialist study group, the Jews have the lowest ratio in the U.S.S.R., "indicating the rapidly dwindling Jewish participation in this field."<sup>68</sup>

Soviet leaders have candidly acknowledged that they set employment quotas for Jews. They also try to justify the practice. An interview published by the National Guardian quoted Minister of Culture Furtseva that the Soviet Government "found in some of its departments a heavy concentration of Jewish people, upward of 50 percent of the staff. Steps were taken to transfer them to other enterprises, giving them equally good positions and without jeopardizing their rights."<sup>69</sup>

## Job discrimination found to be increasing

When the Furtseva statement created unfavorable reaction abroad, the press chief of the Soviet Foreign Ministry was obliged to "clarify" the matter. "She meant," his statement said, "that if at some time there had taken place changes in office personnel, these changes were dictated by the economic needs of the country and under no circumstances were aimed at any discrimination of

persons of any nationality. Never at any time during the Soviet regime were there any quotas for Jews or persons of some other nationality, and there are none now."<sup>70</sup>

However, J. B. Salsberg, a former Canadian Communist leader, reported that in an interview he had had in August 1956 with Soviet leaders (including Khrushchev and Suslov),<sup>71</sup> a top Soviet official "corroborated the absence of Furtseva's statement."

"He tried terribly hard to prove to me with examples that the transfer or dismissal of Jewish employees in once-backward republics that now have 'their own' intelligentsia and professional people capable of occupying posts previously held by Jews or Russians has nothing to do with anti-Semitism."

Academician Konstantin Skrlabin, in a speech before a party's central committee on agriculture, declared: "From my point of view, a scientist should not be evaluated by his passport but by his head, from the point of view of his ability and social usefulness."<sup>72</sup> His reference to the "passport" and its nationality identification was self-evident.

Yet whatever the extent of job quotas, an examination of the scattered data that is available reveals a heavy concentration of Jewish employment in a number of important fields and professions. According to one source, of Moscow's 18,000 physicians, 6,700—more than 1 out of 3—are Jewish.<sup>73</sup> Another source states that 40 percent of the capital's 1,700 lawyers and half of those in Leningrad and Kharkov are Jewish.<sup>74</sup> Andre Blumel was told by Mme. Furtseva that one-third of the personnel in the film industry is Jewish. Jews are also prominent in music and literature, in the library field, in history, philology, and pedagogy (according to Furtseva, 10 percent of the student body of the Pedagogical Institute in Moscow is Jewish) and in the consumer goods and retail trade industry. A letter signed by five prominent Soviet Jews and publicized by the Soviet news agency Novosti listed Jews as comprising 14.7 percent of the U.S.S.R.'s physicians; 10.4 percent of its lawyers and judges; 8.5 percent of its writers and journalists; 7 percent of its actors, sculptors, musicians, and other artists.<sup>75</sup>

There is a high proportion of Jews in the physical sciences. A Soviet statistical handbook (1960) reported 30,663 Jews among 310,000 Soviet scientists, or 9.8 percent. Five years earlier the ratio was even higher, 24,600 out of 223,000, or 11 percent. The proportion of Jews in the physical sciences is decreasing, although the absolute number is rising. The most recent figure is 36,173 Jewish scientists (about 9 percent).<sup>76</sup> An estimated 10 percent of the Academy of Sciences, the U.S.S.R.'s leading scientific body, is Jewish. About one-eighth of the 1964 Lenin Prize winners in science and technology have Jewish names.

Among Soviet nationalities, Jews rank third in the total number of professionals with a university education who are active in the national economy. There are about 300,000 Soviet Jews in the professions, and 427,000 who have either a university or a specialized secondary education. This means one out of five Soviet Jews is a professional or semiprofessional workers, as against 5

<sup>61</sup> Letter to the New York Times, Oct. 3, 1959.

<sup>62</sup> Hindus, "House Without a Roof."

<sup>63</sup> Nicholas DeWitt, "The Status of Jews in Soviet Education," published 1964 by the American Jewish Congress. DeWitt places particular emphasis on the high degree of urbanization among Jews (over 95 percent).

Since most university students come from urban areas the discrimination against Jews is apparent.

<sup>64</sup> April 1964.

<sup>65</sup> June 1956.

<sup>66</sup> September 1956.

<sup>67</sup> In a series that ran in a Canadian Yiddish weekly Vochenblatt and in Morgen Freiheit, October-December 1956.

<sup>68</sup> March 1962.

<sup>69</sup> Sophia Frey in Morgen Freiheit, Apr. 7, 1960.

<sup>70</sup> Andre Blumel in a Paris interview, 1960.

<sup>71</sup> April 1962.

<sup>72</sup> Novosti Press Agency, 1963.

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percent for Russians and 4 percent for Ukrainians.

On the other hand, DeWitt finds that the proportion of non-Jewish nationalities in the professions is rising rapidly. It rose 15 percent during 1957-58. For the same period the Jewish proportion rose 4 percent. DeWitt attributes the difference to the quota system in university admissions. Its continuation, he says, will further reduce the percentage of Jews in professional employment.

There is some evidence that Soviet Jews are confronted with increasing difficulty in winning merit promotions to top industrial and administrative position. This is particularly so in the non-Russian republics where an educated and trained native element is rapidly emerging and Jews are being edged out of the promotion process. This was implied by Khrushchev in an interview with a French Socialist delegation in May 1958:

"At the outset of the Revolution we had many Jews in the leadership of the party and the state. In due course, we created new cadres. Should the Jews want to occupy the foremost position in our republics now, it would naturally be taken amiss by the indigenous inhabitants. The latter would not accept these pretensions at all well, especially since they do not regard themselves less intelligent or less capable than the Jews."

In December 1962, Khrushchev repeated this theme at a meeting of Soviet artists, saying that if Jews occupied too many top positions it would tend to create anti-Semitism.

Since the forties there has been a drastic decline in the role of Jews in Soviet political life. One index of it is the changing composition in the two houses of the Supreme Soviet. In December 1937, there were 32 Jews among the 569 members of the Soviet of the Union; in January 1946, 5 out of 801; in March 1950, 2 of 678 members.

Jews have been eased out of Soviet political life

In 1937 there were 15 Jews among the 574 members of the Soviet of Nationalities; in March 1950, 8 of 638. In April 1958 only 3 of 1,384 members of both houses could be identified as Jews. Among the 1,443 members of the present Supreme Soviet 8 are Jews.

Jewish representation at the republic and local levels is even less than at the national level:<sup>77</sup>

	Total deputies	Jewish deputies	Percent of Jews
Russian Federal Republic	835	1	0.12
Ukraine	457	1	.22
Byelorussia	407	2	.45
Uzbekistan	444	2	.44
Kazakhstan	450	2	.44
Azerbaijan	325	1	.31
Lithuania	209	3	1.44
Moldavia	281	0	0
Latvia	200	0	0
Kirghizia	329	0	0
Tadzhikistan	300	1	.33
Armenia	300	0	0
Turkmenistan	282	1	.36
Estonia	125	0	0
Georgia	288	0	0

With the single exception of Lithuania, the percentage of Jews in the Supreme Soviet of each republic is substantially below its population ratio. This is especially true for the three Slavic republics where most Soviet Jews live. It is also significant that Moldavia and Latvia, each with a sizable Jewish minority, have no Jewish deputies.

The same trend is evident in local Soviets. In every republic except Byelorussia the pro-

portion of Jews is less than 1 percent, and often only an infinitesimal fraction. In January 1961, Trud boasted that 7,500 Jews were deputies in various Soviets of the U.S.S.R.<sup>78</sup> It neglected to compare this with the total of 1,882,000 elected deputies, making the ratio of Jews in the Soviet political structure microscopic. Since the selection of candidates is a controlled affair dominated by the party's leadership, it would appear that Jews are regarded as being less reliable politically.

There has also been a great decline in the numbers of Jews holding leadership positions in the Soviet Communist Party. Among the 175 members of its newly elected central committee, only one has been specifically identified by Soviet authorities as a Jew. He is V. E. Dymshits, a deputy premier and chairman of the U.S.S.R. Council of the National Economy. Dymshits is often held out as an example by Soviet propagandists that there is no anti-Jewish discrimination in Soviet politics.

Prof. John Armstrong of the University of Wisconsin, in a study of the nationality composition of the Ukraine Communist Party, found that the proportion of Jews among the delegates to the party congress had declined from 4.1 percent in 1940 to 2.8 percent in 1958.<sup>79</sup> "It would seem that Jews were deliberately restricted to a lower proportion of the higher and more conspicuous levels of party leadership," Professor Armstrong declared. He calculated that 8 percent of the Ukrainian Party membership is Jewish. This is a fairly high proportion since Jews are only 2 percent of the Ukrainian population. It is in the leadership cadre of the party, however, that the number and proportion of Jews have shrunk considerably.

There are no available statistics on the number of Jews in the All-Union Communist Party but there is no ban against Jews joining the party.

Maurice Hindus has reported that Jews "are definitely barred from careers in diplomacy, the party, the armed forces, in the trade union, the state administration and other politically and militarily sensitive areas."<sup>80</sup> Data on this—or on the view that Jews might be regarded as security risks—are sketchy and fragmentary.

There are few Jews today in the Soviet diplomatic corps. This is in sharp contrast to the twenties and thirties. An examination of a list of 475 top Soviet officials serving in the foreign ministry and in each of its embassies abroad shows but 5 or 6 who appear to have Jewish names. One is a deputy chief of a functional division in Moscow, another an ambassador, a third a minister-counselor. The others hold positions of lesser status. Some observers have also noted that there is a relatively small number of Jews in foreign trade. Of 94 names of top officials in the Ministry of Foreign Trade, only 1 or 2 appear to be Jewish.

Information on the Jewish composition of the armed forces is contradictory. Gen. David Dragunsky, himself a Jew, spoke of "hundreds of Jewish generals and admirals in the Soviet Union." He mentioned three: the supreme commander in the Far East, the commander of the military academy and the commander of a defense force on the southern border.<sup>81</sup> There are reports of a number of Jewish regular army officers on

<sup>77</sup> Novost Press Agency in 1963 gave the figure as 7,623.

<sup>78</sup> J. Armstrong, "The Soviet Bureaucratic Elite: A Case Study of the Ukrainian Apparatus," 1959.

<sup>79</sup> Hindus, "House Without a Roof." In the areas mentioned by Hindus there is also evidence that exceptions occur. Pragmatic considerations in the selection of personnel often appear to be the dominant factor.

<sup>80</sup> Jewish Chronicle (London), Dec. 1, 1961.

active service (mostly in the ranks below that of general.) But in almost every case it is believed their commissioners either predated the war or were granted in the early years of the war. Few, if any, have been appointed in recent years. The same is true for the Soviet Air Force.

## IV. POPULAR ANTI-SEMITISM IN THE U.S.S.R.

The discriminatory patterns in Soviet life do not operate in a vacuum. They reflect popular attitudes toward Jews. The patterns are responsive to and reinforced by the attitudes; the attitudes in turn are necessarily affected by the patterns.

*Studies show deep roots of antisemitic feeling*

Soviet leadership is reluctant to admit publicly that popular anti-Semitism is common anywhere in the U.S.S.R. At times it will say so in private conversations with foreigners.<sup>82</sup> But when it speaks to the Soviet public, either directly or indirectly, it vehemently denies there is any significant amount of anti-Semitic sentiment.

Objective observers of Soviet life, including many who are sympathetically disposed to much of the regime's aims, disagree. They find anti-Semitic stereotyping to be commonplace, although no one really knows how extensive and deep the hostile feelings are. Soviet sociologists have refused to conduct scientific investigations of it.<sup>83</sup> But interviews of Soviet refugees conducted in 1950-51 by Harvard University shed some light.<sup>84</sup> While the sample was far from adequate, it nonetheless suggested that Jews in the Soviet Union are often depicted on the one hand as intelligent or intellectual, on the other as moneyminded, clannish, aggressive, calculating and disinclined to engage in physical labor.

A study among Ukrainian refugees revealed extensive prejudice against Jews. The interviewer found that 47 percent of the least educated, 51 percent of the moderately educated and 38 percent of the well-educated Ukrainian respondents favored excluding Jews from social contacts. The middle-educated Ukrainian, the interviewer concluded, was "particularly anti-Semitic both in his perception of relations between his own national group and Jews, and in expressions of social exclusion be desired."<sup>85</sup>

The persistence of widespread anti-Semitic stereotyping was noted by a friendly observer, Sally Belfast:

"I could almost never hear a Jew described except with the apologetic preface, he's a Jew, but \* \* \* (he's very nice, he's very intelligent.) And frequently anti-Semitic jokes, Rabinovich this, Rabinovich that (always Rabinovich.) Some Russians spend a

<sup>82</sup> Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan told a 1958 delegation of French Socialists that the "remainders" of anti-Semitism persist because "in so short a time it has been difficult for us to eliminate prejudice." Khrushchev told the same group that the anti-Semitic sentiments are "remnants of a reactionary past."

<sup>83</sup> A visiting Western scholar, Prof. Lewis Feuer of the University of California, learned this from Soviet sociologists and philosophers while on an exchange tour to the U.S.S.R.

<sup>84</sup> Harvard project on the Soviet social system. Its essential findings were published in "How the Soviet System Works" by Raymond Bauer, Alex Inkeles and Clyde Kluckhohn, Harvard University Press, 1956. The sample was structured to represent as broad a cross section of the Soviet European population as was possible under the given circumstances of availability of refugees, three-fourths of whom had migrated during the war, the others during 1946-50.

<sup>85</sup> Unpublished study by Sylvia Gilliam of the Harvard project.

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great deal of their verbal energy on attacking anything and everything Jewish."<sup>77</sup>

Maurice Hindue and Harrison Salisbury of the New York Times have detailed similar instances of anti-Semitism. And as an indication that stereotyping can be found on the highest levels of government J. B. Salsberg quoted Khrushchev:

"After the liberation of Czernowitz the streets were dirty. When the Jews were asked why the streets were not being cleaned, they replied that the non-Jewish segment of the population which used to this work, had fled the city. Of the thousands of Soviet citizens who have toured abroad only three failed to return. All of them were Jews. Wherever a Jew settles, the first thing he does is build a synagogue."

Salsberg also quoted Khrushchev as agreeing with Stalin that the Crimea, which had been depopulated at the end of World War II, "should not be turned into a Jewish colonization center because in case of war it would be turned into a base for attacking the U.S.S.R."

Khrushchev on another occasion had these comments about the failure of Jewish colonization in Birobidjan:

"In all ages, the Jews have preferred the artisan trades; they are tailors; they work in glass or precious stones; they are merchants, pharmacists, cabinetmakers. But if you take the building trades or metallurgy, you can't find a single Jew to my knowledge.

"They don't like collective work, group discipline, they have always preferred to be dispersed. They are individualist \* \* \* a second characteristic: the Jews are essentially intellectuals. They never consider themselves sufficiently educated. As soon as they can manage it, they want to attend the university."<sup>78</sup>

The New York Yiddish Communist daily Freiheit accused Khrushchev of giving a false picture of Jewish attitudes toward collective labor, saying that prior to the war "hundreds of thousands of Jews were settled on the land. Three national Jewish agricultural regions were created in the Ukraine. Jews were drawn into heavy industry. The Jewish masses revealed this ability for organization and collective effort in constructing, at great sacrifice, the trade union movement in America. \* \* \* The Jewish laborer and common man showed his ability for collective work in the construction effort in Israel, as Khrushchev concedes in the same interview."<sup>79</sup>

Khrushchev's reference to the absence of Jews in metallurgy did not jibe with the observation of a group of Communists who were visiting Moscow at that time. They found that among 12,000 workers in a Moscow ball-bearing plant, 18 percent were Jews.<sup>80</sup> Harrison Salisbury, discussing the Soviet leader's frequent statements on Jewish questions, found that Khrushchev "almost invariably has displayed traces, at least of the anti-Semitic prejudices common to the borderlands of the Ukraine where he grew up."<sup>81</sup>

Little is done in Soviet education to counteract anti-Semitic stereotypes. Soviet history textbooks published in 1958 and 1960 for preuniversity grade levels tell nothing of Soviet Jewry, its contributions to Soviet culture or its role in Soviet life. This is so even in sections of the volumes which

deal with the culture of minority nationalities in the U.S.S.R.

*Jews cast as villains in recent economic trials*

A widely distributed book, "The Achievements of the Soviet Regime in 40 Years in Figures," published in 1957 on the 40th anniversary of the Bolshevik revolution, makes no reference to Jews or Jewish contributions in its 358 pages of statistics and tables on virtually every aspect of Soviet life. Newspaper references to the nationality of Jews who make distinguished contributions to the arts, sciences and technology are rare.

In 1954, the Soviet Government published "The National Traditions of the People of the Soviet Union," a statistical breakdown by nationality of World War II "Heroes of the Soviet Union"—the nation's highest award for bravery. The booklet makes no reference to Jewish winners, even though more than 100 were so honored.<sup>82</sup>

Satirical attacks on Judaism and on persons with Jewish-sounding names accused of antisocial behavior crop up frequently in the Soviet provincial press. Synagogue leaders, in particular, are depicted as persons engaged in unholy money dealings. This has a special propaganda impact since, in the Soviet cultural pattern, concern for one's personal affluence is regarded as the worst form of antisocial behavior. The satirical articles appear largely in areas where anti-Semitic sentiment is deep rooted. A 1960 study disclosed 77 such feuilletons in 15 major provincial papers.<sup>83</sup>

The new program of the Communist Party, in dealing with "Communist morality," calls for "an uncompromising attitude toward injustice, parasitism, dishonesty, careerism, and moneygrubbing." In the current Soviet campaign against economic crimes, especially black marketeering and currency speculation, the Jew is identified in press accounts as the principal villain. This has been evident in newspaper stories of the arrest and trial of Jews in Leningrad, Vilna, Tbilisi in Georgia and elsewhere.

An analysis of news reports up to the early months of 1963 shows that in 63 trials in 39 cities, 83 of 141 persons sentenced to death—almost 60 percent—were Jews.<sup>84</sup> In a lengthy account of the Vilna trial, Trud published a description of currency speculators quarreling over the spoils, then seeking out the local rabbi to settle the dispute. "The rabbi not only knew of the dark affairs his parishioners were involved in, but was their arbiter as well," the Trud story took pains to say.<sup>85</sup> The Georgian newspaper Zarja Vostoka, reporting a Tbilisi trial, said that "speculation went on full blast in the Lord's temple," and that the accused even used the inside cover of the religious book, the Torah, as a hiding place for foreign currency.<sup>86</sup> Leningradskaya Pravda pointed up the Jewish background of an alleged offender this way:

"Having scraped together a fortune, he dreamed of escaping abroad. It made no difference where—to his brother in England, to

another brother in England, to another brother in Germany, or his sister in Israel."<sup>87</sup>

In a controlled press whose stated objective is to educate the public, these references, as Harrison Salisbury has reported, "blur the lines and smear the Jews by confusing them with criminal and antisocial elements in the population."<sup>88</sup>

To the extent that negative stereotypes of the Jew persist and are even tolerated in high quarters, a permissive atmosphere is created in which the Soviet bureaucrat who practices discrimination is strengthened in his motivations to do so. The permissiveness also tends to crystallize sentiment of the Jew as a security risk. This, in turn, leads to administrative measures that forcibly sever contacts between Soviet Jews and their coreligionists abroad, hastening the assimilatory process of Soviet Jewry.

*Negative stereotyping has led to anti-Jewish rioting*

The signs of racial overtones in the trials of economic offenders—as the Bulletin of the International Commission of Jurists described the preponderance of Jews among those executed—disturbed Philosopher Bertrand Russell. He wrote to Khrushchev that he was "deeply perturbed at the death sentences passed on Jews in the Soviet Union and the official encouragement of anti-Semitism which apparently takes place."<sup>89</sup> Khrushchev replied that to ascribe anti-Semitism to the trials was a profound delusion since individuals of other nationalities also had been sentenced. "Which nation has more or fewer criminals of any kind at one time or another is a social question, not a national question," Khrushchev declared, adding that the nature of the Soviet state precludes the possibility of anti-Semitism.<sup>90</sup>

Izvestia carried four letters out of several hundred reactions which endorsed the Soviet Premier's rebuff of the distinguished British philosopher.<sup>91</sup> But Lord Russell found neither the Premier's explanation nor the arguments of the letterwriters very comforting. "I consider the fact that 60 percent of those executed were Jews to be greatly disturbing," he wrote to the editors of Izvestia. "I fervently hope that nothing will take place which obliges us to believe the Jews are receiving unjust treatment in contradiction to the law."<sup>92</sup> Izvestia neither printed the letter nor responded to it.

This major Soviet organ offered a different kind of response on October 20, 1963. One of its chief editors, Iu. Feofanov, on that day wrote a long article, "No Mercy for Thieves," which described at length the alleged crimes of two Jews named Shakerman and Roifman. Feofanov deliberately noted that he was mentioning the "Jewish family names" of the individuals involved "because we pay no attention to the malicious slander \* \* \* in the Western press." He called for a show trial. The possible repercussions of a show trial upon popular attitudes toward Jews aroused worldwide concern and protests. Ultimately the U.S.S.R. backed away from this proposal.<sup>93</sup>

Official toleration of negative stereotyping of the Jew may well have played a role in stimulating, or at least not discouraging, a

<sup>77</sup> Sept. 16, 1961.

<sup>78</sup> The New York Times, Feb. 8, 1962.

<sup>79</sup> Feb. 2, 1963.

<sup>80</sup> Khrushchev replied Feb. 21, 1963. The exchange of correspondence with Russell was published in the Soviet press on Feb. 28.

<sup>81</sup> Mar. 24, 1963.

<sup>82</sup> Apr. 6, 1963.

<sup>83</sup> In the same way the Soviet Union retreated from a decision to execute an alleged criminal identified as a "rabbi" in Sovetskaya Rossiya, Aug. 30, 1963. Novosti on Jan. 14, 1964, reported that the death sentence had been commuted to 15 years' imprisonment.

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number of outbreaks against Jews and Jewish institutions in the past few years. These are some of the incidents reported in the Western (but not Soviet) press:

"October 4-5, 1959: During Rosh Hashana, hundreds of leaflets were distributed and posted on buildings in Malakhovka, a small Moscow suburb, by a 'Beat the Jews Committee.' The leaflets said in part:

"Throw the Jews out of commerce where they damage socialist property and the people's wealth. They are an obstacle to the development of commerce. They cause much damage to the state and to the working people, and amass profits for themselves."

"Malakhovka's synagogue and the cottage of the caretaker of the nearby Jewish cemetery were set afire. The caretaker's wife was found dead from strangulation."

"August 1960: The Party newspaper in Buinaksk, Dagestan, published a story that Jews mix Moslem blood with water to drink for ritual purposes. This was the old blood libel with a new twist—Moslem instead of Christian blood. Two days later the newspaper repudiated the article as a 'political Semitism.'

"September 1961: Another blood libel rumor erupted into anti-Jewish riots in the town of Margalen, Uzbekistan. The rumor: A Jewish woman had kidnapped and slain a 2-year-old Moslem boy for 'ritual reasons.' The militia ransacked her home and arrested her 90-year-old father. Mob fury broke out in the streets against Jews. Later the local newspaper reported that an Uzbek woman had kidnapped the boy. (He had been returned unharmed.) Jews who had been assaulted vainly brought suit against the mob leader. The court found that the prosecutor had ignored the damaging role of the militia and had minimized the extent of destruction of Jewish homes, and that the searches and arrests of Jews were illegal. It directed the prosecutor to correct his file of evidence for submission at another trial."

"Spring 1962: A Jewish dentist in the town of Tskhaltubo, Georgia, was accused of drawing blood from the face and neck of a Georgian boy who came to play with his son, then selling the blood to the synagogue in Kutaisi to be used in the baking of matzo. The assistant public prosecutor, interrogating the dentist, tortured him and sent him to jail in Kutaisi. The dentist was freed and the proceedings halted only after the case reached higher judicial authorities in central Georgia. These authorities advised the dentist, for his own safety, to leave his native Georgia and take up temporary residence in Moscow.

"May 9, 1962: A blood libel rumor in Tashkent, Uzbekistan, led to assaults on Jews. A 70-year-old Jewish woman, accused of taking blood from the ear of a Moslem girl for use in the Passover ritual, was arrested by the local prosecutor and detained for 3 weeks, during which time her home was ransacked by police. Again, there were mob assaults against Jews. The blood libel, it was later shown, had originated with a minor mishap in the woman's store: the girl had fallen and suffered a slight cut on her ear. The mob leaders, as well as the marauding local police, went unpunished."

\* No mention of the incident was made in the Soviet press. Blumenthal, after a visit to the Soviet Union in 1961, said he had been privately informed that the culprits had been apprehended and convicted.

\* Since then (November 1961) there has been no report of a second trial.

\* When the story was reported in the West, the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press department first called it a "complete invention." A lengthier denial was later issued by Novosti. Both statements, the Manchester Guardian noted, "studiously avoid any mention of the relevant details and therefore add to the plausibility of the reports."

"May 1962: Arsonists set fire to a synagogue in Tskhakaya, Georgia. Scrolls of the Law, prayer books, and prayer shawls were badly burned.

"June 1962: A bomb exploded in front of the synagogue in Kutaisi, Georgia. Two other bombs were found inside the building.

"Rosh Hashana 1962. During the High Holy Day services, and 3 weeks later during Simchat Torah (Rejoicing of the Law), bricks were hurled into the windows of the Great Synagogue of Moscow. A jagged 6-pound brick crashing through the glass, showered splinters over many of the 6,000 Jews who sang and danced during the Simhat Torah service. It narrowly missed hitting the Israel Ambassador and a New York Herald-Tribune reporter. 'Unfortunately,' said the chief rabbi, 'we still have evidence of anti-Semitism.'

"March 1963: Seven weeks before Passover a rumor spread through the city of Vilnius, Lithuania, that a 6-year-old girl had been kidnapped and murdered by Jews to obtain 'Christian blood.' There were reports of Jewish children being persecuted by schoolmates and of hooligan attacks upon Jews. The child's body was later found. It was learned that she had been murdered by a Lithuanian student who had committed suicide."

The tragedy of these and other episodes, bad as they are, is perhaps less in their occurrence than in the failure of Soviet authorities to expose publicly their fraudulent origins.

*Kremlin view: there is no anti-Semitism in U.S.S.R.*

Instead the authorities constantly repeat the refrain that anti-Semitism does not and cannot exist in the U.S.S.R. When Khrushchev can deny that even Stalin's notorious doctors' plot was anti-Semitic—as he clearly implied in his letter to Lord Russell—then it is hardly surprising that officials will refuse to take public cognizance of lesser anti-Semitic outbursts. To still any clamor for dealing with internal anti-Semitism the regime has in recent months turned to condemnation of anti-Semitism in the West—in the United States, West Germany, Argentina.

In one recent anti-Semitic incident, however, Soviet authorities did take at least a partially positive step, although not until world clamor for action (including vociferous outcries from foreign Communist parties) had become too insistent to be rebuffed.

The incident was the publication last October in Kiev of an anti-Semitic book, "Judaism Without Embellishment," written by T. Klichko. The Ukrainian Academy of Sciences was the publisher. The work carried vicious caricatures of Jews, reminiscent of Julius Streicher's "Der Stuermer."

The book and its contents became known in the West last March. The hue and cry which arose took on crescendo-like proportions, and the major Communist parties in the West demanded an explanation. Finally, after some halfhearted Soviet statements failed to still the outburst, the Ideological Commission of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee on April 4 released a statement condemning the book as contradicting "the party's Leninist policy on religious and nationality questions." The embarrassed Commission acknowledged that the book "may be interpreted in the spirit of anti-Semitism." Khrushchev's son-in-law, Alexei Adzubel, also announced that all copies had been removed from the book stalls.

Ironically, the Pravda story on the Commission statement also praised a book, "Catechism Without Embellishment," which carries many of the same types of negative stereotypic images about Jews. Such a proviso, plus the continued publication of

\* The New York Times, Oct. 22, 1962.

literature that stigmatizes Judaism in vulgar tones of bigotry, indicate that the party has yet to reverse its position.

There are vigorous voices among Soviet intellectuals eager to sensitize the public to the evils of anti-Semitism. The distinguished Soviet writer, K. Pauetovsky, pilloried the Stalinist bureaucracy "who quite openly carry on anti-Semitic talk of a kind worthy of pogrommakers."<sup>\*\*</sup> Yevtushenko, in his autobiography,<sup>\*\*\*</sup> relates how he came to loathe the anti-Semitism of leading literary bureaucrats. Referring to a prize-winning Stalinist poet, he wrote:

"Unfortunately it was people such as this who sometimes made 'literary policy,' infecting it with evil-smelling things of all sorts, including anti-Semitism. To me, both as a Russian and as a man to whom Lenin's teaching is dearer than anything in the world, anti-Semitism has always been doubly repulsive."

*Soviet intellectuals are growing voice of reason*

For Yevtushenko, communism and anti-Semitism are "mutually exclusive" and he has raised his voice to that end. The powerful "Babi Yar" was one example. The last lines of the poem express an attitude shared by many Soviet intellectuals:

"Let the 'Internationale' ring out  
When the last anti-Semite on earth is  
buried.  
There is no Jewish blood in mine,  
But I am hated by every anti-Semite as a  
Jew  
And for this reason,  
I am a true Russian."

Yevtushenko's autobiography also tells of public reaction to his first reading of "Babi Yar." "When I finished," the poet wrote, "there was dead silence. I kept creasing the paper in my hand, afraid to look up. When I did, the entire audience was on its feet, suddenly the applause broke and went on for about 10 minutes. People came up on the stage and hugged me. My eyes were full of tears."<sup>\*\*</sup>

Yevtushenko received about 20,000 letters when the poem was published. Only 30 or 40 attacked him. This encouraging fact suggests that a government-sponsored program aimed at combating anti-Semitism and restoring the religious and cultural rights of Jews would have substantial support.

#### NATIONAL FEDERATION OF INDEPENDENT BUSINESS SUPPORTS PRINCIPLE OF TAX DEDUCTION FOR EDUCATIONAL PURPOSES

Mr. KEATING. Mr. President, the National Federation of Independent Business, whose membership is composed of more than 190,000 independent business proprietors, recently completed a nationwide voting survey on a bill I introduced in this Congress (S. 1236) to permit an income tax deduction for the educational expenses of students or their parents who may be bearing the brunt of these vital outlays.

The result of this vote, I am glad to report, was that 72 percent of the mem-

\* In a 1956 speech to the Moscow Writers Union.

\*\* Published in the French newspaper L'Express.

\*\*\* The poem and three others have been set to music by Shostakovich as part of his 13th symphony. In response to official pressures, Yevtushenko (and Shostakovich) agreed to add a line to the poem which reads that Russians and Ukrainians had also died at Babi Yar.